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ABSTRACT

A 1980 survey of 323 Yup'ik Eskimo high school students in the Lower Yukon region and 117 white high school students in Fairbanks (Alaska) examined their educational and occupational aspirations and preferences. Students were asked what types of jobs they saw as desirable, what their occupational and educational aspirations were, and what types of rewards they wanted from work. There were no significant differences between Eskimo and white samples in aspirations for post-secondary education. There were differences between Eskimo and white subjects in patterns they followed in pursuing higher education; nearly 1/3 of the Eskimo sample planned to spend time in their home villages before going to college while white students preferred to go straight to college. Both groups chose professional occupations as the "best" kinds of jobs and unskilled, blue-collar occupations as the least desirable. Eskimo subjects were just as likely to want permanent, year-round, full-time jobs as were urban whites. The assumption that Eskimo students are less interested in a college education or in preparing for professional, technical, or managerial careers was not supported. While there seemed to be differences in the kinds of rewards rural Eskimo and urban white students seek from jobs, similarities clearly outweighed differences. (BRR)

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ISER Research Note

November 1982

"...DOCTOR, LAWYER, INDIAN CHIEF:"

THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, PLANS, AND PREFERENCES OF ESKIMO STUDENTS ON THE LOWER YUKON

G. WILLIAMSON McDIARMID
and
JUDITH S. KLEINFELD

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study examines the educational and occupational aspirations and preferences of Eskimo students versus white students in the north. Data for this study were drawn from a survey of 323 Yup'ik Eskimo high school students in the Lower Yukon region and 117 white high school students in Fairbanks. Students were asked (1) what types of jobs they saw as desirable, (2) their occupational and educational aspirations, and (3) what types of rewards they wanted from work?

Major Findings

- We found no significant differences between our Eskimo and white samples in their aspirations for post-secondary education.

- We did find differences between Eskimo and white subjects in the patterns they followed in pursuing higher education. Nearly a third of our Eskimo sample planned to spend a year or two after high school in their home villages before going to college while white students preferred to go straight to college.

- When we asked students: "what are the most desirable occupations?" we found little difference between our Eskimo and white sample populations. Both groups chose professional occupations as the "best" kinds of jobs and unskilled, blue-collar occupations as the least desirable kinds of jobs.

- Both groups most frequently aspire to professional, technical, or managerial jobs, although a greater proportion of the white than Eskimo students want these kinds of jobs.

- We found that our Eskimo subjects were just as likely to want permanent, year-round, full-time jobs as were urban whites.

- Urban white subjects more frequently preferred jobs that gave them leadership responsibility, autonomy, and challenge than did their Eskimo counterparts. The differences between the groups were, however, small.

- A majority of both groups preferred jobs that offered advancement and security over jobs that offered only higher pay.

Major Conclusions

Our research does not support the assumption of some educators that Eskimo students are less interested in a college education or in preparing for professional, technical, or managerial careers. While there do seem to be differences in the kinds of rewards that rural Eskimo and urban white students seek from jobs, the similarities between the two groups clearly outweigh the differences.

Finally, the seasonal, part-time jobs commonly available in rural areas are not the kind of jobs that most students prefer. However, they may eventually take such jobs because, given the limited number and variety of jobs available in rural areas, they have no choice.

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INTRODUCTION

In deciding how and what to teach, educators in rural Alaska are forced to consider the difficult questions of what the education will be used for: what are the educational plans and aspirations of Native students? What kinds of jobs do Native students want after they finish their education? Do they prefer the types of jobs typically available in the village, or would they be interested in other kinds of occupational opportunities if they had the right skills? As most educators are white, these questions are frequently asked in a comparative manner: are Native students different from white students in their plans and aspirations for the future? These questions are not merely an expression of intellectual curiosity; they reflect educators' concerns for providing the kind of education and guidance best suited to the needs of rural Native students.

To ascertain the occupational and educational plans and preferences of Native students in the villages and to determine if these are indeed different from those of their urban white counterparts in the North, we asked a sample from each group about their future plans and aspirations and also about the kinds of job experiences they desired. By comparing their responses, we were able to measure similarities and differences between the two groups on a range of educational and occupational dimensions.

Observers of the rural Alaskan economy have noted that many Natives—particularly men—follow patterns of intermittent work rather than year-round, full-time employment (Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis, 1981). While this pattern has been best documented on the North Slope, it seems to prevail in other rural areas as well. However, one must question whether this is a preference common to Natives, or is such intermittent work merely a pragmatic response to economic conditions? Do Natives actually prefer the nonprofessional, low-skilled jobs that they usually hold in the villages to professional and higher-skilled jobs? Similarly, the results of at least one survey could lead the reader to think that Native students have lower aspirations than do whites for further education and training (Alaska Commission on Postsecondary Education, 1980). Is this indeed true, or do Native students follow a different pattern in pursuing higher education—a pattern not revealed by conventional surveys of students' future plans?

Moreover, we know very little about Native students' preferences for occupational rewards. For example, just how important are various extrinsic rewards in work (e.g., income, prestige, and security) and intrinsic rewards (interest, challenge, responsibility, and autonomy) to them? Do these rewards hold the same relative importance for Native students as they do for Northern white students? Finally, "serving the people" is a traditional Native value that community leaders consistently emphasize to their youth. Are Native youth thus more interested in occupations that "serve the people" than are their Northern white counterparts?

In short, we wish to determine to what extent, if any, village Eskimo students differ from their urban white counterparts in the kinds of jobs they want, the levels of education they seek, and the types of rewards they prefer.

Organization of Paper

In the first two sections of this paper, we review the relevant literature and describe the methods used to gather our data.

The third section deals with the educational aspirations and plans of rural Native and urban white students. Our concern here is with how much and what type of postsecondary schooling students want. We look in particular at the difference between the patterns that each of our ethnic groups follows in pursuing higher education.

The fourth section focuses on the occupational aspirations of rural Native and urban white students—what kind of jobs they want after they have finished their education and how their aspirations compare to their parents' present occupations.

Finally, in the fifth section, we examine the students' preferences for work situations—the conditions of work and the values that students seek through work. The values we have studied are futher broken down into two dimensions: extrinsic rewards and intrinsic rewards. We are interested in how rural Native and urban white students evaluate the various rewards offered by different kinds of jobs.

In our conclusion, we discuss the similarities and differences between rural Native and urban white students and the implications of these similarities or differences for educational practice in rural Alaska.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Three areas of the literature on occupations are relevant to this paper: occupational prestige, occupational and educational aspirations, and work preferences and values. While a great number of studies provide a wealth of information on prestige and aspirations, we could find little information on the occupational preferences and values of students from different ethnic groups.

Occupational Prestige

Research on occupational prestige ratings show that they are remarkably consistent across time and space (for a review of the research, see Featherman and Hauser, 1973; Treiman, 1977). Studies conducted among Northern peoples show a similar consistency (Smith, 1974; Smith, 1975). There is some evidence, however, that under certain conditions a rural-urban difference in prestige ratings may occur (Cook, 1962; Sharda, 1972).

Of particular relevance to this paper are the findings of Smith (1974) among Indians, Metis, Eskimo, and Euro-Canadians in the Northwest Territories of Canada. He found that "each population subgroup was essentially similar to every other" in the prestige rating of occupations.

Occupational Aspirations

Another area of relevant literature concerns the occupational aspirations of various ethnic groups. These can be broken down into studies involving urban samples and those involving rural samples. Our primary concern is with rural populations. However, as we have also collected data on an urban sample, we will briefly review three prominent studies comparing three ethnic groups in an urban setting.

Urban Studies

Antonovsky (1967), analyzing data collected in a "northern metropolis," compared the occupational aspirations of 378 lower-class black, white, and Puerto Rican youth. He reports little difference by ethnicity. Similarly, Crawford (1975) found no significant difference by ethnicity in a tri-ethnic study carried out in Galveston, Texas. He concludes that "the ethnic groups appear to be more similar than different." The only variable for which Crawford found statistically significant differences was sex: Girls of all ethnic groups tended to have higher aspirations than boys (Crawford, 1975: 66). Venegas (1973), drawing his data from a random sample of 590 Anglo and Mexican-American youth in Texas, reported that Anglo youth held significantly higher occupational and educational aspirations. At the same time, however, few respondents from either ethnic group aspired to lower-level occupational categories. In short, major studies of urban groups have shown few ethnic group differences in educational and occupational aspirations.

Rural Studies

Edington and his associates (1975) conducted a study of occupational aspirations and expectations in rural New Mexico. Their sample included 139 Native Americans, 171 Anglo, and 240 Mexican-American students. They found statistically significant differences between Native Americans and the other two groups in the occupations to which they aspired: Native Americans aspired to occupations that were less professional than did the Anglo-Americans. But when Edington and his associates analyzed which jobs students *expected* to get when they finished their schooling, they found no significant differences by ethnicity. Women, they found, expected to get significantly less professional jobs than did men. Finally, they report that Native American males aspired to significantly less education than all subgroups except Mexican-American females.

Kuvlesky and Edington (1976) compared the occupational status projections of four ethnic groups: 385 Navajo youth in Arizona; 192 black, 301 Anglo, and 379 Mexican-American youth in Texas. Respondents in all four groups came from predominantly rural, agricultural areas "that are relatively disadvantaged economically and which have concentrations of an ethnic minority group present" (Kuvlesky and Edington, 1976: 12). They report that "Navajo youth maintained the lowest level of aspirations and demonstrated the weakest intensity of desire for these [aspirations] among the four ethnic types" (Kuvlesky and Edington, 1976: 37). Navajo males also demonstrated expectations for *lower-level* occupations more frequently than any other group.

When we examine the findings of these two rural studies (Edington et al., 1975; Kuvlesky and Eding-

ton, 1976) together with the results of an earlier rural study (Kuvlesky et al., 1971), it is clear that "substantial ethnic differences exist in some aspects of the occupational status projections of rural youth" (Kuvlesky and Edington, 1976: 45). Perhaps the most interesting finding consistently reported is that rural Native American youth demonstrate lower-level occupational aspirations than other youth. At the same time, however, most youth, regardless of ethnic group, aspire to jobs which represent upward mobility. Other similarities that Kuvlesky and Edington report among the four ethnic groups are a high intensity of desire for jobs among all groups and high uncertainty about getting these jobs. However, studies of occupational aspirations involving rural Indian students show a pattern of somewhat lower occupational aspirations or expectations compared to other youth.

Educational Aspirations and Expectations [1]

While there are a number of national studies—both in the United States and in Canada—on the educational aspirations and expectations of youth, we have been able to locate little research comparing the educational aspirations and expectations of northern Alaska Native and non-Native students. Studies from both the United States and Canada report similar findings: boys' educational aspirations and expectations tend to be higher than girls' (Mooney and Greenberger, 1978; Gordon, 1969; Harrison, 1969; and Coleman, 1961). In addition, blacks and Anglos have comparably high levels of educational aspirations (Cosby and Charner, 1978; and Gordon, 1969).

Chu and Culbertson (1982) studied the educational aspirations and expectations of Alaska Native students from two rural communities and whites from a large naval base community in the Aleutians. Their sample size was, however, quite small: 33 Native and 40 white high school sophomores and seniors. Their findings suggest "a trend in which white students [report] higher levels of educational expectations than Alaskan Native students" (Chu and Culbertson, 1982: 7). For educational aspirations, on the other hand, they found no significant difference between white and Native students.

[1]Most of the literature compares students' aspirations with their actual expectations. Our data is limited however to educational aspirations.

Work Values

While a number of studies of work values have appeared since Rosenberg's (1957) pioneering study, we found few that deal specifically with northern people. Those we did find and review have focused on work preferences which reflect underlying values.

Rosenberg (1957), in his study of the work values of college students, found that the values students expressed predicted their occupational preferences. He had students rank ten value statements and then placed students in one of three categories according to their occupational values: "self-expression-oriented," "people-oriented," and extrinsic-reward-oriented. In subsequent studies, a number of such work-value taxonomies have been developed (Zytowski, 1970: 182). Kilpatrick (1964) built on Rosenberg's work, expanding his instrument from ten to thirty items and broadening his sample to include federal employees, other workers, and college and high school students. Kilpatrick found that higher levels of income, education, and occupation were related to a higher degree of personal involvement with work, a more highly complex value structure, and emphasis on abstract, long-term, ego-rewarding, and intrinsic values. Other studies have found that different levels of income, educational attainment, and socioeconomic status are related to different value complexes (Robinson, Athansiou, and Head, 1969: 223-248).

While researchers have studied the effects of sex, age, income, and education on values, few, it seems, have examined the effects of ethnicity. Lafitte (1974), in her study of 148 students at the University of Texas, found distinct differences in grouping of work values among four ethnic groups: Anglo-Americans, black Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Oriental-Americans. For each group, the values most emphasized, in order of importance, were (1) Anglos: way of life, achievement, altruism, and independence; (2) blacks: way of life, economic returns, supervisory, and achievement; (3) Mexican-Americans: way of life, security, achievement, and independence; and (4) Oriental-Americans: way of life, creativity, achievement, and surroundings. Lafitte employed an instrument on which students rated forty-five work values on a scale from "important" to "unimportant" and answered twelve questions about their personal and ethnic backgrounds and career goals.

Hofstede (1980) carried out a large-scale study involving 88,000 employees of a large multinational company operating in sixty-five countries. His questionnaire consisted of sixty-three questions covering satisfaction, perceptions, personal goals, and beliefs (Hofstede, 1980: 66). He then carried out a cross-cultural comparison on four value dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and individualism. Hofstede found that he could distinguish eight distinct "cultural clusters" according to their ratings on these four indices. Clearly, Hofstede's findings support the idea of cultural differences in work values.

In short, the limited research that we have been able to locate comparing work values among different groups indicates that work values are affected by cultural differences. These results support Hofstede's contention that "the 'mental programs' developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organizations" are "most clearly expressed in different values that predominate among people from different countries" (Hofstede, 1980: 11).

While the literature suggests that ethnicity affects work values, just how the work preferences of northern people are affected is not clear. There is conflicting evidence on the preferences of northern people for work patterns. Smith found that, contrary to the stereotypes of Indians and Eskimos current in the Northwest Territories, "the majority of respondents of all groups indicate a preference for weekly hours of work close to the conventional 40-hour work week" (Smith, 1974: 14). In a survey of male Yukon Indians between the ages of 22 and 66 years, Lampe (1974) also found that Indians prefer year-round work. The findings of these studies contrast with those from research on the North Slope Inupiat of Alaska. Kleinfeld and Kruse (1977) found that, when asked about their future work preferences, 56 percent of North Slope Borough high school students preferred to split their time between wage employment and subsistence activities. An equal proportion of North Slope adults prefer part-time to year-round wage employment (Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis, 1980).

Conclusion

Occupational prestige ratings show remarkably high correlations internationally but may vary between rural and nonrural samples. Research on occupational aspirations, on the other hand, provides evidence of differences by ethnicity. Specifically, Native Americans aspire to less professional occupations than do other groups. In addition, data collected among northern students indicate that Native Americans also have significantly lower educational expectations than other northern ethnic groups though no difference has been reported in their educational aspirations. When we turn to studies done on work values, we find clear ethnic differences between some groups. The literature on northern people is, however, limited. Whether Natives in the North prefer the seasonal work patterns common to rural areas is not entirely clear from the existing literature.

METHODS

This study is based on a survey of occupational values carried out in the Lower Yukon area and in Fairbanks during the winter and fall of 1980.

Rural Sample

The rural sample of 232 high school students all described themselves as Eskimo. This sample was nearly evenly divided among 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grade students. Fifty-four percent of the rural sample was male, and 46 percent was female (Appendix B, "Description of Sample"). The student sample consisted of all high school students from four small Eskimo villages.

The four high schools from which our rural sample was drawn were sites for a National Science Foundation-funded pilot project—the Scientist-in-Residence program.[2] The data used in this paper were collected as part of the evaluation of that project. Two criteria were critical in selecting these sites: size and accessibility. All four schools enrolled forty or more students, and the villages had regularly scheduled air service. While students in these four schools are not representative of all Eskimo high school students nor even of Southwest Eskimo students, the sites represent common situations in rural Alaska—communities intermediate between small villages and regional towns.

All students came from villages which depend upon the Yukon River and its tributaries for their food and some of their income. Moreover, these villagers tend to be very poor, with an average per capita cash income of $2,750 in 1979. Jobs in the area tend to be relatively low paying, short term, and intermittent. Government and service sectors provide nearly 75 percent of the jobs in the region, with the balance of jobs occurring in the trade, transportation, manufacturing, and construction sectors (Alaska Department of Labor, 1981).

Residents in the Lower Yukon area are active participants in the noncash economy. Many fish for both personal consumption and commercial sale. Subsistence hunting and trapping provide additional goods for personal consumption. Trapping for profit is also a source of cash income, as is the sale of traditional craft work—basket weaving, carving, skin sewing, etc.—in which a number of residents engage.

Urban Sample

To obtain a comparison group of Northern non-Native students, we drew a random sample from the student list of the high school in Fairbanks whose student body the school district recommended as representing the widest social and geographic spectrum. We selected Fairbanks since it is the most northern urban center with a majority white population. We stratified by grade level and drew proportionate subsamples for each of the four grade levels to match our rural sample. When we actually administered the questionnaires in the spring of 1980, however, we found that seniors were underrepresented. The high rate of absences among seniors during the time we administered the questionnaires was due to the flurry of activities that precedes graduation. Only 8.5 percent of our urban sample were in the twelfth grade, compared to 21 percent of our rural sample. Our ninth and tenth grade subsamples were correspondingly larger in proportion than the comparable subsamples of rural students (see Appendix B, Table B-5). However, subsequent analyses indicated very few significant differences by grade level in occupational values. Where these occurred, we make note of them in the paper.

While our original urban sample included whites and nonwhites, we decided to limit the potential effect of cultural variations within our urban sample by using only white students in our analysis.[3] White students constituted 75 percent of our total urban sample. The final urban sample consisted of 117 white students.

Fairbanks is the commercial and transportation center of interior Alaska, with a population of 53,983. Government was the leading employer in 1978, providing jobs for 31 percent of the population, followed by services (19 percent), trade (16 percent), construction (9 percent), and finance (6 percent) (Kruse, 1978). Most jobs are conventional, 40-hour-per-week positions.

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[2]For a more detailed description of the villages involved in this study, see Appendix A.

[3]Subsequent analysis has established the similarity of the white and nonwhite subsamples on all educational and occupational variables.

In sum, neither sample is representative of the entire population of rural Eskimo students nor of urban white students, and we cannot generalize our results to the entire student population of the state. However, both samples represent common community situations in northern Alaska.

Questionnaires

To gather data on students' occupational goals and preferences, we developed two questionnaires: one designed to elicit interests and plans; the other to determine students' preferences for jobs.

The first questionnaire contained straightforward questions about future educational and occupational plans and demographic information. The second presented students with thirteen scenario items that offered students a choice between alternative job situations. We felt that trade-off questions of this sort more closely approximate the types of value conflicts individuals face when deciding between alternative jobs: "What is more important to me? A job with good pay in a city with many activities available or a job which pays less but is in my home town where my family and friends live?" Inkeles and Smith (1974) in their study of modernization in six developing countries established the usefulness and reliability of this scenario format. In addition, students found this format interesting.

The scenario format also avoids the problem of a "positive response set" in which respondents of a particular group tend to rate every item on the high side of the scale. In asking Eskimo and white students to rate the importance of occupational values such as "pays good wages" or "interesting to do," we found that the Eskimo group tended to rate every value more positively than did whites. This phenomenon has been observed elsewhere. Lewis and Gingerich, in their study of views of leadership among Indian and non-Indians, note that "the American Indians have had a tendency to respond in the extreme, whereas the non-Indian students tended toward a more moderate or middle-of-the-road position" (Lewis and Gingerich, 1980: 496). Our scenario items neutralized this response bias.

To avoid any bias that may have come from respondents identifying with the gender of the characters in the scenario items, we substituted female names for male names on the questionnaire used with female respondents. Names for the characters in the scenario items were drawn from the student list for a high school located in the same geographical region as the survey villages.

The first author administered the questionnaires to students in the Lower Yukon area in their classrooms. Over 90 percent of the students were present at each site on the day the questionnaires were administered. As we attempted to limit the disruption of each school's daily program, students were not allowed to continue beyond the time scheduled by the principal. This, in large part, accounts for the considerable number of missing cases for certain items.

We administered the questionnaire to our urban sample in the school cafeteria. As noted above, nearly 50 percent of the seniors were absent. All students finished the questionnaire within the allotted time.[4] With few exceptions, the students in both samples were interested, cooperative, and applied themselves to the task.

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[4]The urban respondents, unlike the rural respondents, were not required to complete a scientific knowledge test.

FINDINGS

Educational Aspirations and Plans

Rural Results

When we asked Eskimo students what they planned to do during the first year or two after high school, a considerable majority (72 percent) indicated that they intended to attend college (Table 1). Nearly a third of those surveyed were also thinking about working during that time, while a quarter were considering staying at home. If we compare the responses to this question to the responses given to a less time-specific question ("... do you want more schooling or have you had enough?"), we find that fully 93 percent of our sample desire more education (Table 2).

Table 1

Plans after Graduation from High School by Cultural Setting and Sex[a]

Plans After Graduation[b]	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All
Employment	32%	33%	32%	45%	32%	38%
College	65	83	72	76	86	82
Job Training	6	4	5	0	3	2
Stay at Home	27	18	23	2	0	1
Travel	0	0	0	8	20	15
Join Military	15	3	10	6	0	3
Don't Know	5	7	6	3	3	3
Number of Students	(114)	(92)	(206)	(51)	(66)	(117)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 45.37$, $p < .001$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
White: n.s.

[a]The question read, "During the first year or two after high school, what will you probably do?"

[b]Percentages do not add up to 100 percent since students can have multiple plans.

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Table 2

Future Educational Plans by Cultural Setting and Sex*

Educational Plans	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All
More School	92%	94%	93%	92%	95%	94%
No More School	5	3	4	4	5	4
Don't Know	3	3	3	4	0	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(105)	(92)	(197)	(50)	(65)	(115)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
White: n.s.

*The question read, "After you finish high school, do you want any more schooling or have you had enough school?"

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

The difference between the results from these two questions can be explained by the pattern Eskimo students follow after high school graduation. When we examined the educational plans of those students who said they wanted to spend the first year or two after high school at home or working, 88 percent of those who intended to work and 96 percent of those who said they were going to stay at home immediately after high school still planned to attend college in the future. Eskimo students gave a variety of reasons for wishing to stay at home. For young males, it is often an opportunity to devote their time to subsistence activities that they had to forego while attending school. Young females are often needed at home to help with chores and to look after younger siblings. It is unusual to hear Eskimo students express a strong desire to "get away from home," a sentiment that is fairly common among white youth. Although village students often complain about the lack of things to do ("It's boring around here"), a significant number of them, nonetheless, find the village more

congenial than the alternative.

More details about Eskimo students' plans beyond high school are provided in Table 3. Over half (65 percent) of those surveyed desired to attend a 4-year college, with the majority preferring a college in Alaska. None of our respondents indicated a desire to attend graduate school. This may be, in part, due to unfamiliarity with postgraduate education. A very small percentage—less than 5 percent—said they wanted no more education.

Other evidence of Eskimo students' interest in post-secondary education can be found in responses to a scenario item that presented respondents with the choice between attending a 4-year college, a 2-year college, or seeking no more education (Table 4). The scenario item offered justifications for each of the three alternatives—for example, that there are opportunity costs involved in choosing to go to

Table 3

Students' Plans after High School Graduation*

	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All
Vocational Ed.	17%	10%	14%	14%	12%	13%
2-Year College	10	16	13	6	5	5
4-Year College in Alaska	48	46	47	4	12	9
4-Year College outside Alaska	11	15	13	54	47	51
4-Year College in or Outside Ak.	5	5	5	4	5	4
More Education—not specified	1	1	1	4	8	6
College & Graduate School	0	0	0	6	6	6
No More Educ.	5	4	4	4	5	4
Don't Know	3	3	3	4	0	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(105)	(87)	(192)	(50)	(65)	(115

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 87.55$, $p < .001$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
White: n.s.

*The question read, "After you finish high school, do you want any more schooling or have you had enough school? . . . If you want more schooling, which of the following will you probably do?" [Choices listed in table above.]

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Table 4

Prefer to Attend Four-Year College, Two-Year College, or Think High School Diploma is Enough to Get a Good Job*

Occupational Situation	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All
4-Yr. College	70%	68%	69%	76%	64%	69%
2-Yr. College	23	22	22	16	29	23
No More Educ.	7	10	9	8	7	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(113)	(88)	(201)	(51)	(66)	(117)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
White: n.s.

*The question read:

Anna, Evelyn, and Carol were sitting around and talking one day about what they would do when they finished high school.

"I think *I want to go to a four-year college* like the University of Alaska at Fairbanks," said Anna. "I think that my chances at getting a good job will be better if I have a college degree."

"I don't think so," replied Evelyn. "I think *a couple of years of study at a two-year college* like Kuskokwim Community College will be enough. That's enough to get a pretty good job." (On the urban questionnaire, we substituted Tanana Valley Community College for Kuskokwim Community College.)

"Why waste your time?" asked Carol. "Listen, I bet I can get just as good a job as either of you *without any more studies than high school.* You will just spend time and money studying while I'll be earning money."

Who would you agree with most, Anna, Evelyn, or Carol?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

college rather than to work after high school. Again, nearly 70 percent of rural Eskimo students chose the 4-year college option while only 9 percent preferred to work rather than to attend college after high school.

Urban Results

Urban white students showed the same high interest in post-secondary education that we found among rural Eskimo students. Eighty-two percent planned to go to college during the first year or two after high school graduation (Table 1). Thirty-eight percent also indicated an interest in working. The only other option which had broad appeal was travel: 20 percent of the urban females surveyed felt they would like to travel after graduation, an option chosen by only 8 percent of the males.

When asked whether they wanted more schooling after high school, 94 percent answered affirmatively. Nearly 65 percent indicated an interest in attending a 4-year college (Table 3). Almost 80 percent of those who planned to attend a 4-year college wished to do so outside of Alaska.

Responses to the scenario item tend to support the findings from other measures of educational plans. Sixty-nine percent of those surveyed chose the 4-year college option while only 8 percent identified with the character who thought she didn't need any post-secondary education.

Rural-Urban Comparison

Of greatest interest in our findings on the educational aspirations and plans of rural and urban students is that Eskimo students are as interested in post-secondary education as are white students. That other surveys have found a smaller proportion of Eskimo students than white students planning to attend college may have resulted from the phrasing of the questions. As we noted above, Eskimo students often choose to spend the first year or two after high school in their home villages working or participating in the subsistence economy before going on for more schooling.[5]

As Table 1 shows, when students were asked about their plans for the first year or two after high school, there was a statistically significant difference between the ethnic groups. When students were asked if they wanted more schooling with no time specified, however, there was no difference by ethnicity: over 90 percent of both groups wanted more schooling.

When we look at specific educational plans, we find a few differences (Table 2). Eskimo students are more likely to prefer attending a 4-year college *in* Alaska while white students want to attend college *outside* the state. A larger proportion of Eskimo than white students indicate an interest in attending a 2-year college. Finally, while 6 percent of the white students plan to attend graduate school, none of our Eskimo respondents had similar plans.

When we look at the educational aspirations and plans of Eskimo students, we find, then, that they are just as likely as their urban white counterparts to want to attend a 4-year college. Given that a majority of rural Eskimo students *aspire* to attend college, the message of this finding to educators seems clear: a rural school program which lacks college prep material and standards of achievement appropriate for college-bound students deprives them of this opportunity.

Views of Different Occupations

Rural Results

Following Smith's (1974) format, we asked students to indicate how "good" or "bad" they thought thirty selected jobs were on a five-point scale ranging from "best kind of job" to "bad job." We drew these jobs from a list constructed by Smith (1975) for his study of Natives and non-Natives in the Northwest Territories of Canada. We modified this list to conform to rural Alaskan conditions, omitting jobs likely to be unfamiliar (e.g., warehouseman, laundry worker, and railroad worker) and retitling other jobs (e.g., nurse's aide became health aide; cook became school cook).

We also asked students to rate a subsample of twelve jobs on "respect paid by community" and on

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[5]Note that the Alaska Commission on Post-Secondary Education found significant differences in desire to attend four-year colleges between white and Native high school seniors (Alaska High School Seniors Survey Report, 1979-80, Table 8, p. 11). The Commission, however, phrased its question differently, asking seniors "what are you most likely to

(continued in next column)

(continued from previous column)

do after high school?" Consequently, a Native student who planned to spend his first year or two out of high school at home working before attending college may not have responded "attend a four-year college." Our survey distinguished between students' plans immediately after high school and their plans one or two years later.

"helpfulness to community." The five-point respect scale ranged from "respected a lot" to "not respected at all." As Treiman points out, the desirability of jobs is not synonymous with the respect those jobs are paid (Treiman, 1977: 95). Our findings bear out this distinction. The helpfulness item asked students to rate the thirteen jobs on a five-point scale from "helps the community a lot" to "doesn't help the community at all."

The jobs selected as "the best kinds of jobs" by our Eskimo sample were all technical, professional, or managerial occupations.[6] Correspondingly, the lowest-ranking jobs were all semi-skilled or blue-collar occupations. Traditional jobs such as hunter and fisherman ranked in the upper half of jobs considered to be "good" but well below the "best kinds of jobs" as shown in Table 5. This type of information should call into question the assumption of some educators that Eskimo students prefer traditional occupations to more "modern" professions. While students still seem to respect these traditional occupations, they are likely to consider more "modern" professions as better jobs.

It is also important to note that only two of the five "best" jobs are realistic options for students who wish to live in their villages. Health aide and teacher occupations are available in the villages but businessmen and doctors are located predominantly in regional centers.

In Table 6 we see that the respect which jobs are believed to receive from the community is highly correlated (r_s = .80) with how desirable the same jobs are. We find a slightly higher correlation (r_s = .89) between the respect paid occupations and how much these occupations are believed to help the community. This would seem to indicate that one of the most important elements in determining respect for an occupation is how much the job is seen to help the village.

Table 5

Rural Eskimo Students: Five Most and Five Least Desirable Occupations

Five Most Desirable Occupations	Five Least Desirable Occupations
Doctor	Janitor
Businessman	Truck Driver
Health Aide	Cannery Worker
Nurse	Homemaker
Teacher	School Cook

Table 6

Rural Eskimo Students: Ranking and Correlations for Community Respect, Helpfulness, and Desirability of Jobs

	Community Respect	Helps Community	Desirability of Jobs
Health Aide	1	1	1
Teacher	2	2	2
Village Corp. President	3	4.5	4
Mayor	4	7	3
Village Councilman	5	4.5	9
Storekeeper	6	6	8
Policeman	7	3	10
Pilot	8	8	5
Hunter	9	10	6
Construction Worker	10	9	7
Homemaker	11	12	11
Cannery Worker	12	11	12

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficients:
Community Respect by Desirability = .80
Community Respect by Helps Community = .89
Helps Community by Desirability = .58

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Urban Results

White students also rated professional, technical, and managerial occupations as the "best kinds" of jobs (Table 7).

The five lowest-ranking occupations were all semi-skilled jobs, one of which was a white-collar occupation—teacher's aide—while the remainder were blue-collar.

[6]We contend that, in the context of the village, health aide can be considered a professional occupation. That is, they are viewed as professionals in the village, particularly by females. That health aide ranks first both in desirability and respect lends support to this contention. For further justification for this contention, see Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis, (1980:26).

Table 7

Urban White Students: Five Most Desirable and Five Least Desirable Occupations

Five Most Desirable Occupations	Five Least Desirable Occupations
Doctor	Janitor
Scientist	School Cook
Lawyer	Teacher's Aide
Pilot	Factory Worker
Corporate Exec.	Fisherman

The results from the two other scales are shown in Table 8. While respect is moderately associated with desirability (r_S = .56) and with how helpful a job is seen to be to the community (r_S = .63), there is very little association between the desirability of jobs and their helpfulness to the community (r_S = .21). What seems to be happening here is best illustrated by students' ratings of the occupation of "pilot." While it is rated first on the desirability scale, it is next to last on the helpfulness scale. Being a pilot in Alaska can be both lucrative and, in an age when mundane bureaucratic jobs are the norm, romantic if not dashing. At the same time, students recognize that, compared to other jobs, it is not very helpful to the community. Similarly, students judged the jobs of a policeman to be the most helpful of the 12 jobs presented but ranked it in the lower half of occupations on desirability.

Results from these three scales reveal little correspondence between what urban students think are good jobs and how helpful these jobs are to their community. It would seem that factors other than helpfulness to the community determine the appeal of occupations. Moreover, the respect jobs command is only moderately associated with how desirable jobs are seen to be.

Rural-Urban Comparison

Comparing our results for the two samples, we find that there is relatively little difference between them on our three measures. Both groups chose technical, professional, and managerial jobs as the five "best kinds of jobs" and semi-skilled, blue-collar occupations as the "worst kinds of jobs." Greatest disagreement occurred for occupations that are of particular economic and social importance to the villages. The job of fisherman, which the white students ranked twenty-sixth, was ranked sixth by the Eskimo students. Similarly, health aide and hunter—both important occupations in the village—were ranked relatively low by the white students. Overall, comparing the ranking of jobs on their desirability, we find a correlation (r_S) of .67. If we eliminate the three jobs which have particular significance for the villages—i.e., health aide, hunter, and fisherman—our correlation coefficient increases to .72. This is in line with the intercountry comparisons of occupational desirability reported by Treiman (1977: 94-95).[7]

[7]Trieman (1977) found that for the five places for which he had "non-prestige" data—Czechoslovakia, Grenada, Nigeria (Bornu), Sweden, and Yugoslavia—the average correlation with the United States was .71, or 14 points below the average correlation for countries for which Treiman had prestige scale data.

Table 8

Urban White Students: Ranking and Correlations for Community Respect, Helpfulness, and Desirability of Jobs

	Community Respect	Helps Community	Desirability of Jobs
Mayor	1	4	2
Policeman	2	1	7
Borough Dept. Head	3	5.5	3
City Councilman	4	5.5	9
Teacher	5	3	5
Physician's Asst.	6	7	6
Pilot	7	11	1
Mechanic	8	8.5	4
Storekeeper	9	8.5	10
Construction Worker	10	2	8
Homemaker	11	12	11
Factory Worker	12	10	12

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficients:
Community Respect by Desirability = .62
Community Respect by Helps Community = .62
Helps Community by Desirability = .21

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

When we compare the rankings on the respect scale, we find a correlation of .72. Given the high correlations consistently reported in the literature for international prestige comparisons, it is surprising that the correlation is not higher. Our findings are consistent, however, with those from similar studies among northern people: Smith (1974) concluded that "Mackenzie Delta Native students are similar to their outsider colleagues in the [Mackenzie] Delta and to national respondent populations in their perceptions of occupational prestige ranking" (Smith 1975: 111). Our relatively low correlation may be due, in part, to the small number of occupations (12) that students rated.[8] We also encountered problems with occupations such as health aide. In an attempt to ensure comparability, we tried to find job titles that would match functions. Hence, for urban students, we substituted "physician's assistant" for "health aide." Although both carry out essentially the same function, their roles in their respective communities are quite different, as evidenced by the much lower ranking physician's assistant achieved on all three scales. In other words, the lower-than-expected inter-ethnic correlations for the respect scale may be due, in part, to a lack of conceptual equivalence, a common problem in cross-cultural studies.

Finally, bearing in mind the caveats mentioned above, we compared the rankings of each ethnic group on the "helpfulness to community" scale: the interrank correlation here is .58. Whereas urban white students view policeman and, surprisingly, construction worker as occupations which are most helpful to their community, rural Eskimo students chose health aide and teacher as most helpful.

Of particular interest here is our finding that the conception of occupations as helpful, respected, and desirable all appear to be closely associated in the minds of Eskimo students whereas these attributes show less association for white students. The jobs which Eskimo students viewed as being desirable, helpful, and respected all involved an aspect of community service. This was not true for white students. Whereas they rated pilot and mayor as the best kinds of jobs, they judged policeman and construction worker to be the most helpful to their community. Our results may reflect the greater heterogeneity of values that exists in urban areas compared to small, remote rural villages. It may also reflect the greater experience urban students are likely to have with a greater variety of occupations.

[8]The average sample of jobs rated in the 85 prestige studies that Trieman reviewed was 62 (Treiman 1977:45). Smith had respondents rank 48 occupational titles in his study (Smith 1975:109).

Occupational Plans

Rural Results

When we asked rural Eskimo students what job they were thinking about doing, a quarter of those surveyed chose professional, technical, and managerial jobs (Table 9). Within this category, medicine and health was the most frequently selected occupational area, followed by education and business management.[9]

The second most popular category was clerical and sales. For this category, there is a significant difference by sex: over a quarter of the females chose this category while only 6 percent of the males indicated a similar interest. For men, the second most popular occupational category was structural work, followed closely by the "traditional" occupations of hunting, trapping, and fishing.

Of particular significance as well was the large proportion of both men and women who had not yet decided what kind of work they wished to do. Twenty-three percent of the men and 20 percent of the women responded that they did not know what kind of work they wished to do after finishing all of their education.

As another measure of occupational aspirations, we compared students' aspirations for jobs with their parents' occupations. We found that nearly 80 percent of those students whose fathers held low-status jobs aspired to high-status occupations.[10] Because of the high rate of unemployment in rural areas of Alaska, we had a large number of missing cases for father's occupation. Our field observations, however, suggest that most rural Eskimo students have aspirations for jobs of higher status than those held by their fathers.

[9]The full list of occupations coded under "Professional, Technical, and Managerial" includes: Engineer, Medicine and Health, Education, Airline Pilot, Business Manager/Accountant, Arts, Law, Science, Self-Employed, and Unspecified Professional, Technical, and Managerial.

[10]Occupations were coded either "high status" or "low status" according to the classification system of the National Opinion Research Center, "Codebook: General Social Survey 1977" (University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois).

Table 9

Future Occupational Plans by Cultural Setting and Sex[a]

Occupational Plans[b]	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Professional, Technical, Managerial	24%	31%	25%	47%	52%	50%
Clerical/Sales	7	27	15	2	12	8
Service	3	11	7	2	14	9
Hunting, Trapping, Fishing	13	0	7	2	0	1
Mechanics and Machinery Repair	8	0	5	8	0	3
Structural Work	15	1	9	8	2	4
Public Admin. & Native Organ.	4	2	3	4	1	3
Processing, Benchwork & Other	7	5	7	13	5	8
Don't Know	20	23	22	14	14	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(106)	(92)	(198)	(49)	(65)	(114)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 28.48, p < .01$

Sex Differences: Whites: $x^2 = 20.5, p < .01$
Eskimo: $x^2 = 52.8, p < .001$

[a]The question read, "After you have finished all the schooling you want, what kind of work are you thinking about doing?"

[b]For a complete list of specific occupations coded under each of these general categories, see Appendix C, Table C-1.

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Urban Results

An even higher proportion of our white sample—50 percent—indicated that they wanted a professional, technical, or managerial occupation (Table 9). Within this category, education was the most frequently mentioned occupational area, followed by business management, the arts, and science. While there is little difference between the sexes for this category of occupations, women indicated a much greater interest in clerical and sales and service jobs than did men. For men, the processing, benchwork, and other category was the second most popular. Combining the results from this category with those from the mechanics and the structural work categories, we obtain nearly a third of our male sample who are interested in blue-collar occupations. Only 8 percent of the females surveyed showed a similar interest in blue-collar jobs.

When we compared students' aspirations with their parents' occupations, we found that, like the rural Eskimo students, our urban white students showed a similar upward mobility: nearly 80 percent of those students whose fathers held low-status jobs aspired to high-status occupations.

Rural-Urban Comparison

When we compared the occupational aspirations of rural Eskimo and urban white students, we found more similarities than differences. Both groups preferred professional, technical, and managerial jobs over any other category of occupations. A greater proportion of whites (50 percent) than Eskimo (25 percent) indicated this preference. Females of both groups preferred clerical and sales and service occupations significantly more frequently than did males. Blue-collar occupations appealed to about the same proportion of both urban white and rural Eskimo males.

Contrary to the stereotype held by some educators, hunting, trapping, or fishing occupations were only the third most preferred category for Eskimo males. Nearly twice as many Eskimo males preferred professional, technical, or managerial jobs to full-time hunting, trapping, or fishing. An insignificant proportion of the urban white males indicated a similar preference for these "traditional" Native occupations.

Both samples showed similar upward mobility in their choices of occupations. Nearly 80 percent of those from both groups whose fathers held low-status jobs wanted high-status occupations.

In sum, we see that perhaps the most significant difference for occupational aspirations is not by ethnicity, but rather by gender: females of both ethnic groups are much more likely to prefer clerical and sales and service jobs. The major ethnic difference is in the proportion of students who want professional, technical, and managerial jobs. While this is the most popular category for both groups, a higher proportion of whites than Eskimos wants jobs of this type. These findings are consistent with those

of Smith (1974: 13) who found that the trend in the Northwest Territories was "for Euro-Canadians to place greater emphasis on the professions" and for Native people to "place as much emphasis on proprietary and managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled trade occupations as Euro-Canadians." Both Smith (1974) and Kuvlesky and Edington (1976) found that Native American women preferred clerical and sales occupations more often than males or females of any other ethnic groups studied (i.e., Anglo, Mexican-American, or black).

Work Values

As we noted above under "methods," we presented students with thirteen scenario items describing alternatives that people must often choose between when deciding on a job. We used the scenario format—which provided a context for choosing between the alternatives as well as details about the consequences of each alternative—to make the situation more realistic and comprehensible. For example, we presented a scenario item to distinguish between three possible bases for respect: (1) the status inherent in the occupation itself, (2) the level at which the income from a job enables one to maintain one's family, and (3) the perceived benefits of the job to community.

> Roger, Oscar, and Barney were talking together one day about the kind of job they wished to have when they finished schooling.
>
> "I'd really like to be a doctor or a teacher or something like that," said Roger. "You know, some kind of a job that *people really respect you for.* That would make my family very proud of me."
>
> "I don't think it really matters what kind of job you do," Oscar replied. "Just so you *get enough money to take care of your family.* That's what people respect you for, not whether you have this job or that job."
>
> "I don't agree," argued Barney. "I think people respect you most because of what you do to help the community. What's important is *whether you help people out.*"
>
> Who would you agree with most, Roger, Oscar, or Barney?

During several years of field work in rural schools, we have heard teachers express a number of assumptions about the work values and preferences of Eskimo youth. These assumptions suggested the scenario items that we asked our student samples to respond to. Do Eskimo students actually prefer the temporary, intermittent work available in the villages? Do they want to leave their villages for higher-paying jobs in the cities? Do they prefer working with people to jobs dealing with information or things? Our scenario items were designed to test these and other assumptions.

The literature on work values identifies at least two dimensions for these values: intrinsic and extrinsic (for a review of the literature which employs these dimensions, see Andrisani and Miljus, 1977; and Alvi, 1981). *Intrinsic* values are those embodied in actually doing the work—using one's abilities or skills, being creative, pursuing one's interests, meeting challenges, and so on. *Extrinsic* values are those that are realized outside the actual job itself—gaining respect or prestige, attaining security and a comfortable standard of living, increasing one's leisure time and activities, and so on. Intrinsic values are thus realized in the work *process*; extrinsic values are realized not in the process but in certain *ends* to which the job is merely the means.

Some researchers have also identified a third dimension of work values, a residual category that Rosenburg (1957) called "people-oriented" values (i.e., chance to work with people, chance to help community) and that Ginzburg (1951) named the "concommitant" dimension (i.e., elements of the work environment including colleagues, working conditions, and job surroundings).

In analyzing results from the scenario items, we have adopted the conventional dimensions of the intrinsic and extrinsic. Because of the importance of alternative work schedules and work locations in northern areas, we have created a third dimension of values. These include individual preferences for part-year or year-round work, part-time or full-time work, and work in one's hometown or in a distant town. Finally, as we were interested in discovering if the traditional Eskimo community service value orientation was reflected in contemporary young people's work choices, we presented two scenario items in which students had to choose between community service values and extrinsic values. Thus, our scenario items measure student values along four dimensions: extrinsic, intrinsic, work schedule and location, and the trade-off between community service and extrinsic values.

Work Schedule and Location

Prefer a Part-Year Job with Lower Annual Pay OR a Year-Round Job with Higher Annual Pay (Table 10)

A common view of rural Eskimos is that they prefer part-year jobs that leave them free to engage in subsistence hunting, fishing, and food gathering during the appropriate seasons (e.g., during spring whaling and sealing time, herring and salmon runs, caribou season, and so on.) In fact, nearly 70 percent of our rural Eskimo sample preferred year-round occupations to part-year jobs. Though a slightly higher proportion of females than males preferred year-round jobs, the difference is not statistically significant.

These findings tend to support the results of Smith (1974) and Lampe (1974) who found that Native students in Canada preferred work patterns similar to those preferred by Euro-Canadians. Our findings do, however, differ from those that Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis (1981) obtained among the Inupiat Eskimo of the North Slope; they found that 69 percent of the males they surveyed wanted part-year occupations. This difference may be due to the structure of occupations for males on the North Slope where seasonal jobs, such as construction supported by oil dollars, pay very well, enabling workers to earn a year's wages in a few months. Moreover, whereas our sample was made up of high school students, the Kleinfeld et al. study surveyed adult male workers.

Urban white students display a similar preference for year-round work. White males are slightly more likely to prefer year-round work than are females, but the difference is not significant. This trend is the reverse of what we found among Eskimo students

Table 10

Prefer a Part-Year Job with Lower Annual Pay OR a Year-Round Job with Higher Annual Pay*

Working Condition	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Year-Round Job	65%	72%	68%	71%	59%	64%
Part-Year Job	35	28	32	29	41	36
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(111)	(90)	(201)	(49)	(65)	(114)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: n.s.

*The Question read:

Patricia has a job that is year-round. But after work, on weekends, and during vacations, she has time to do other things she likes to do like fishing, hunting, visiting, and so on. She finds that the money she earns buys her the things that make life easier for her family.

Mary prefers to work part of the year. The rest of the time, she does other things she wants to do. Mary doesn't earn as much money as Patricia does. But it is more important to Mary that she is not tied down to a year-round job and has the time to do what she wants.

Which do you think you would like best, a job like Patricia's or a job like Mary's?"

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Prefer to Work 20 to 30 Hours, 40 Hours, OR More than 40 Hours per Week with Commensurate Differences in Pay (Table 11)

This scenario item also offers alternative work patterns. A substantial majority of both male and female Eskimo students preferred a conventional 40-hour work week to either part-week work or jobs requiring overtime. Similarly, a majority of white students preferred a 40-hour work week. White females differed from white males in that a larger proportion of women were likely to prefer part-time jobs. Correspondingly, a larger proportion of men than women chose jobs that required more than 40 hours of work per week.

When we compare the findings from these first two scenario items, the preferred work pattern that emerges is the same for both groups: year-round, 40-hour week occupations. Our findings fail to support the view that rural Eskimo students prefer seasonal, part-time employment. Rather, our results

Table 11

Prefer to Work 20 to 30 Hours, 40 Hours, OR More Than 40 Hours per Week with Commensurate Differences in Pay*

Working Condition	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
20-30 hrs.	22%	23%	23%	16%	30%	24%
40 hrs.	69	69	69	72	68	70
More than 40 hrs.	9	8	8	12	2	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(112)	(91)	(203)	(49)	(66)	(115)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: $x^2 = 7.62, p < .02$

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences: n.s.

*The question read:

Frank, George, and Andrew were discussing their jobs. "I work *between 20 and 30 hours per week*," said Frank. "I could earn more if I worked 40 hours. But I prefer to have more time for other things."

Then George spoke: "I work a regular *40 hours per week*. I earn pretty good money this way. I do other things I like on weekends or during vacations."

"I work a lot of *overtime*, you know," said Andrew, "more than 40 hours per week. I get paid very well for working overtime. That means I earn a lot of money. But I don't have much time to do other things."

Which do you think you would like best?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

suggest that the seasonal, part-time work patterns common to rural Alaska may be structured not by the preference of future workers but rather by the employment opportunities and economic conditions in the villages.

Prefer Indoor OR Outdoor Job (Table 12)

Another widely held belief is that Eskimo males prefer to work outdoors. Results from this scenario item support this idea: 55 percent of the Eskimo men surveyed preferred outdoor occupations. Rural Eskimo women do not, however, share this preference: 76 percent of the females chose indoor work over outdoor work.

Urban white males also prefer outdoor work. Indeed, the proportion of white males with such a preference was slightly larger than the proportion of Eskimo males with the same preference. The difference was not, however, significant. White females, unlike their Eskimo counterparts, chose outdoor work over indoor work. In fact, nearly as many white females as white males preferred working outdoors to indoors. White female preference for outdoor work is curious: Eskimo females probably spend more time outside than do their white counterparts, as they

Table 12

Prefer Indoor OR Outdoor Job*

Working Condition	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Indoor	45%	76%	59%	39%	42%	41%
Outdoor	55	24	41	61	58	59
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(109)	(88)	(197)	(49)	(66)	(115)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 9.44, p < .01$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: $x^2 = 18.29, p < .001$
Whites: n.s.

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: $x^2 = 16.74, p < .001$
Eskimo Males-White Males: n.s.

*The question read:

Lucy's job is mostly indoors. Though she would prefer to be outside when the weather is nice, she is glad to be inside when it gets cold or the weather is bad.

Ruth's job requires her to be outdoors a great deal. She likes being outside most of the time, even though sometimes the weather turns bad.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Lucy's or a job like Ruth's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupaional Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

participate in a wide range of subsistence activities. Perhaps white students tend to romanticize outdoor occupations much as nonfarming people tend to romanticize life on the farm.

Prefer Lower-Paying Job in Hometown OR Higher-Paying Job in Large Town or City Away from Home (Table 13) [11]

Rural Eskimo students of both genders preferred lower-paying jobs in their home village to higher-paying jobs in a larger town. Given the close family and social ties characteristic of village life, we had anticipated this result. Indeed, it was mildly surprising that a larger proportion of our rural sample did not indicate such a preference.

We did not anticipate, however, that our white sample would show a similar preference for a lower-paying job at home to a higher-paying job in a larger place. We had hypothesized that urban white students would show a tendency towards greater mobility. This was not the case. The idea of a "place like Anchorage" may have conjured up the social problems attendant to city life or awakened regional rivalries between Anchorage and Fairbanks. Rather than indicating a preference for being close to home, urban white students' responses may express a distaste for the particular city named.

Summary

As our findings on the above items show, rural Eskimo and urban white students hold much the same values on working conditions. Both groups preferred to work at year-round, 40-hour-per-week occupations. Both preferred lower-paying jobs in their hometowns to higher-paying jobs in a larger place away from home. Both Eskimo and white males as well as white females preferred jobs outdoors to indoor jobs. These findings run counter to the conventional belief that Eskimos prefer temporary, seasonal, and part-time occupations to permanent, year-round, and full-time work.

[11] To exemplify a "larger place" for our rural sample, we included " like Bethel," the regional center for students in the Lower Yukon area. For our urban sample, we used the phrase "like Anchorage" to exemplify a "larger place."

Table 13

Prefer Low-Paying Job in Hometown OR Higher-Paying Job in City Away from Home*

Extrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Job in Hometown	61%	57%	59%	56%	62%	60%
Job Away from Home	39	43	41	44	40	40
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(112)	(89)	(201)	(50)	(66)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: n.s.

*The question read:

(Rural Version) Patrick has a job at home in his own village. He could make more money if he worked in a larger place like Bethel, but he would rather work at home where he is close to his family and friends.

Nick left his village to get a job in Bethel which pays him very well. He enjoys all the activities of a larger place, but he must be away from his family and friends most of the year.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Patrick's or a job like Nick's?

(Urban Version) Patrick has a job in his hometown. He could make more money if he moved to another place like Anchorage, but he would rather work in his hometown where he is close to his family and friends.

Nick left his hometown to get a job in another city which pays him well. He enjoys all the activities of a larger place, but he must be away from his family and friends most of the year.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Patrick's or a job like Nick's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Extrinsic Values

Prefer Lower-Paying Job with Advancement Potential OR Higher Paying Job without Prospect of Advancement (Table 14)

We intended this item to gauge the career ambitions of our samples. A majority of our rural Eskimo respondents preferred a lower-paying job that held out the promise of advancement to a higher-paying job that lacked the potential for advancement. Women were slightly more interested in a job with advancement potential than were men, but the difference was not significant.

A very large majority of urban white students also chose the lower-paying job with advancement potential. The proportion of males and females choosing this option was nearly the same.

When we compare the results from each group, we find that a significantly larger proportion of urban white than rural Eskimo students prefer the job with advancement potential. This would seem to indicate that more white students than Eskimo students entertain ambitions for rising in a work organization hierarchy.

Table 14

Prefer Lower-Paying Job with Advancement Potential OR Higher-Paying Job without Prospect of Advancement*

Extrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Lower-Paying with Advancement	62%	66%	64%	84%	85%	85%
Higher-Paying without Advancement	38	34	36	16	15	15
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(111)	(90)	(201)	(51)	(65)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 13.99$, $p < .001$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: n.s.

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: $x^2 = 7.05$, $p < .01$
Eskimo Males-White Males: $x^2 = 8.04$, $p < .01$

*The question read:

Marie's job offers her the chance to get ahead, to move up to better jobs in the future. Marie's job doesn't pay high wages right now. But if she does her job well, she will be able to get a job with higher wages and a lot more responsibility.

Lorraine's job pays more than Marie's job right now. But Lorraine's job doesn't really lead on to higher positions. Lorraine says she likes it that way. She'd rather make money now, and she doesn't really care about trying to get a higher position with more pay and more responsibility.

Which type of job would you prefer more, a job like Marie's or a job like Lorraine's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Prefer a Steady Job with Lower but Secure Income OR Temporary Job with Higher but Less Secure Income (Table 15)

As we noted above, some observers of rural employment have concluded that Eskimos prefer seasonal, high-paying jobs to steady, lower-paying employment. The findings of Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis (1981) suggest that this is true for male Eskimo workers on the North Slope. When we presented rural student respondents with the choice between a higher-paying, temporary job and a lower-paying, permanent job, fully three-quarters of those surveyed preferred the more secure job. Moreover, there was no difference between men and women. Again, it should be noted, however, that Eskimo adolescents in the Lower Yukon area constituted our sample—a very different group from Eskimo workers on the North Slope.

Urban white students held the same preference. Women overwhelmingly (85 percent) chose the secure job option.

These findings lend further support to our contention that the temporary jobs common to rural Alaska may reflect not a preference, but rather the employment opportunities available to rural residents.

Table 15

Prefer a Steady Job with Lower but Secure Income OR Temporary Job with Higher but Less Secure Income*

Extrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Steady Job	76%	74%	75%	71%	85%	79%
Temporary Job	24	26	25	29	15	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(110)	(91)	(201)	(51)	(66)	(117)

Ethnic Differences: n.s.

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: n.s.

*The question read:

A big reason that John took his job is that it will last for a long time. He could have taken other jobs which would have paid him much better, but these jobs wouldn't last very long. John was more concerned about having a steady job and wages he could count on.

Clement's job will not last as long as John's job. His wages are much higher than John's. When there is work, Clement makes very good money. But he can't count on having work in the future.

Which type of job would you prefer more, a job like John's or a job like Clement's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Summary

Results from these two scenario items, which were intended to reveal students' value orientations on extrinsic rewards, produced mixed results. A clear majority of both groups showed an orientation towards security and towards jobs with advancement potential. The proportion of students for whom advancement opportunities were important was, however, significantly greater for urban whites than for rural Eskimos. While our findings on job security support our earlier contention that Eskimo students are as interested in steady jobs as are white students, the results on advancement opportunities seem to indicate that more white students than Eskimo have ambitions in the job setting.

Intrinsic Values

Prefer a Job Dealing with Things, Paper, and Information, OR People (Table 16)

This item is common to questionnaires designed to determine an individual's work activity orientation. Our findings reveal significant differences in students' orientations, both by ethnic group and by gender.

More male Eskimo students preferred to work with things than with paper and information or people. The preferred work activity for female Eskimo students was to deal with paper and information.

Similar differences in preferences existed between males and females in our urban white sample. Urban white males—like rural Eskimo males—chose the job dealing primarily with things. Females, on the other hand, preferred the job dealing mainly with people. Thus, while the males of both groups preferred jobs dealing principally with things, Eskimo

Table 16

Prefer Job Dealing with Things, Paper and Information, OR People*

Intrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Things	59%	27%	45%	59%	21%	38%
Paper & Info	26	47	35	12	29	21
People	15	26	20	29	50	41
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(110)	(89)	(199)	(51)	(66)	(117)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 17.14$, $p < .001$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: $x^2 = 20.60$, $p < .001$
Whites: $x^2 = 17.70$, $p < .001$

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: $x^2 = 9.89$, $p < .01$
Eskimo Males-White Males: $x^2 = 6.51$, $p < .02$

*The question read:

Sally's job requires her to work with *things* most of the time. There are other people where she works, but her job requires her to work with her hands most of the time.

Rose's job is mostly at a desk. She works with *papers, forms, and information*. Sometimes she also works with people.

Donna's job is mostly with *people*. She spends most of her day talking with people and listening to people. She rarely works with things.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Sally's or Rose's or Donna's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

females more often chose the job dealing with paper and information, and white females preferred working with people.

Prefer Closely Supervised Job OR More Autonomous Job (Table 17)

A second intrinsic value is the degree of autonomy students would prefer on a job. A majority of the rural Eskimo respondents preferred a more autonomous job to a more closely supervised one. The same proportion of males as females chose the option.

Urban whites also preferred the autonomous job. But, whereas 67 percent of the females opted for the autonomous job, 86 percent of the males did so. Among urban white males, this is an unusually prevalent value.

Table 17

Prefer Closely Supervised Job OR More Autonomous Job*

Intrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Supervised Job	43%	43%	43 %	14%	33%	25 %
Autonomous Job	57	57	57	86	67	75
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(113)	(91)	(204)	(50)	(66)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 10.49$, $p < .01$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: $x^2 = 4.68$, $p < .03$

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: n.s.
Eskimo Males-White Males: $x^2 = 13.25$, $p < .001$

*The question read:

Ernest works under a supervisor who is around most of the time. The supervisor gives Ernest certain tasks to do. When Ernest has a question, the supervisor answers it. Though Ernest sometimes gets mad at being bossed too much, he is always sure about what he's supposed to do.

Anthony works by himself most of the time. His supervisor isn't around much. When problems arise, Anthony must find out how to solve them. Anthony likes being on his own, but sometimes it is hard for him to know what he should do.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Ernest's or a job like Anthony's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Although a majority of both ethnic groups preferred the more autonomous job, the proportion of white students who chose this option was significantly greater than the proportion of Eskimos making the same choice. While the difference between Eskimo and white females was not large, urban white males were much more likely than their rural Eskimo counterparts to opt for the more autonomous occupation.

Prefer a Job with Leadership and Supervisory Responsibility OR Not (Table 18)

When we asked students whether they preferred a job with leadership responsibilities or not, a slight majority of the rural Eskimo students we surveyed preferred a job without such responsibilities. While males were almost evenly split between the options, nearly two-thirds of the Eskimo females opted for the job without leadership responsibility.

A majority of the urban white females, on the other hand, chose the job that entailed leadership duties. As there was no statistically significant difference between Eskimo and white men on this value, the substantial difference between Eskimo and white females accounts for most of the difference we found between the two ethnic groups. Unlike our Eskimo sample, the white sample produced no significant difference between the genders.

These differences lead us to speculate on the role of leadership in rural Eskimo and urban white cultural settings. Leadership is a quality highly prized and much touted in white culture. In Eskimo culture, however, there is a preference for organizational roles which are cooperative rather than directive and for corporate as opposed to individual decision-making. What passes for "firm and decisive" leadership in Anglo society may be derided as "bossy" in a rural Eskimo setting.

Prefer Routine, Undemanding Job OR More Challenging Job that Demands After-Work Efforts (Table 19)

Rural Eskimo students, both male and female, clearly preferred the routine job to the more challenging job. Urban white females similarly opted for the more routine job although the proportion choosing this option was somewhat smaller than the rural Eskimo case.

Table 18

Prefer Job with Leadership and Supervisory Responsibility OR Not*

Intrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Job w/Leadership Responsibility	51%	36%	44%	62%	58%	60%
Job w/o Leadership Responsibility	49	64	56	38	42	40
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(111)	(90)	(201)	(50)	(66)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 6.80, p < .01$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: $x^2 = 4.40, p < .05$
Whites: n.s.

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: $x^2 = 7.46, p < .01$
Eskimo Males-White Males: n.s.

*The question read:

Part of Dorothy's job is being a leader for other people who work where she does. They look to Dorothy to know what to do next and to help them when a problem comes up. When things go well, Dorothy gets a lot of the credit. But when things go badly, she must take the responsibility.

Being a leader is not part of Marvella's job. She is only responsible for doing her job as best she can. She doesn't get as much credit as Dorothy does when things go well. But then, she doesn't have to take as much responsibility when things go badly.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Dorothy's or a job like Marvella's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

The most substantial difference occurred with urban white males. Nearly two-thirds of these students preferred the more demanding job. Indeed, urban white males constituted the only subsample in which the majority of respondents chose the more challenging options.

Table 19

Prefer Routine, Undemanding Job OR More Challenging Job that Demands After-Work Efforts*

Intrinsic Dimension	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Routine	64%	64%	64%	37%	54%	47%
Not Routine	36	36	36	63	46	53
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Students	(109)	(89)	(198)	(51)	(65)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 9.27$, $p < .01$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: n.s.

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: n.s.
Eskimo Males-White Males: $x^2 = 10.23$, $p < .01$

*The question read:

Wassilie's job is pretty much the same every day. He enjoys the job because it is not too demanding and leaves him time and energy to do things at home with his family and friends. He never has to think about his job after he leaves work.

Larry's job is demanding. He often has to use his imagination to come up with new solutions to problems. Often he becomes so interested in a problem that he works very hard on it even after working hours. When he is home, he sometimes thinks about his job.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like Wassilie's or a job like Larry's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

This scenario, however, is actually two-dimensional: challenging versus routine work and regular work hours versus after-work hours. The notion of "after working hours" appears only with "challenging." Students may have preferred "challenging work" but not a job that necessitated working "after working hours."

Summary

On each of the values in the intrinsic dimension of work, we have found significant differences by ethnicity. When we asked students about their work activity preference, we found that males—both Eskimo and white—preferred jobs in which they would deal primarily with "things." Rural Eskimo females chose a job in which they would work mainly with paper and information while their urban white counterparts preferred a job dealing primarily with people.

Presented with a choice between a more autonomous or a more closely supervised job, a majority of each subsample chose the more autonomous job. Significantly more white males, however, preferred a more autonomous job than any other subsample. The responses of white females were more similar to the rural Eskimo sample.

Urban white students seem more inclined to take jobs in which they will have leadership responsibilities. White males prefer challenging jobs to more routine jobs while male and female Eskimos and white females more often choose the less demanding job.

Our findings suggest that urban white students differ from rural Eskimo students in what they look for in a job. White males were more likely to look for job opportunities that offer autonomy, leadership responsibility, and challenge. White females indicated that they valued the same rewards but challenge was less important to them than it was to the men. Eskimo students, on the other hand, more often preferred closely supervised and routine jobs. Males were evenly divided in their preference for a job with or without leadership responsibility, while females clearly preferred not to have such responsibility. Differences in all these values were, however, modest.

Community Service Value vs. Extrinsic Rewards

Two scenario items asked students to choose between jobs which are helpful to the community and jobs which offer good pay or high status. We intended these items to test the hypothesis that "helping the community" was a stronger value among rural Eskimo students than among urban white students. Besides being a traditionally important value among the Eskimos, "helping the community" is emphasized by present community leaders in the rural areas. If we were to find that Eskimo students strongly preferred jobs that "helped the community," it might reveal one of the values underlying their occupational and educational preferences.

Prefer a Job with High Status OR a Job with Good Income for Family OR a Job with the Satisfaction of Helping the Community (Table 20)

We asked students to choose one of three possible bases for social standing: (1) a high-status occupation, (2) good income, or (3) helping the community. While a majority of rural Eskimo females agreed that social status depends on how much one helps the community, males most frequently chose a good income.

Urban white males, like their rural counterparts, agreed that an income which enabled one to take care of one's family was what determined social prestige. White females most frequently selected high occupational status as the primary determinant of prestige.

Interestingly, there was no statistically significant difference between Eskimo and white males. There was a markedly significant difference, however, between Eskimo and white females.

Our expectation that rural Eskimo students more often than urban white students would agree that "helping the community" was the primary source of social prestige was, thus, only partially fulfilled.

Prefer Lower-Paying, Community-Service-Oriented Job OR Higher-Paying Job without Community-Service Orientation (Table 21)

This scenario presented students with the option of a job that was helpful to the community but did not pay as well as another job that lacked the community-service dimension. Nearly half of our Eskimo sample chose the lower-paying job with the community-service orientation. Virtually the same proportion of both males and females chose this option.

Urban white female respondents differed strongly from white males. Whereas half of the white females preferred the community-service job, 80 percent of the white males opted for the higher-paying job without the community-service orientation.

Again, results only partially supported our hypothesis. Although half of our rural Eskimo sample chose the lower-paying, community-service job, an equal proportion of urban white females chose the same option.

Table 20

Prefer a Job with High Occupational Status OR Job with Good Income for Family OR Job with Satisfaction of Helping Community*

Occupational Reward	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
High Occup. Status	17%	23%	20%	26%	41%	34%
Good Income	48	23	37	48	33	40
Satisfaction Helping Commun.	35	54	43	26	26	26
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(111)	(90)	(201)	(50)	(66)	(116)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 12.40$, $p < .01$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: $x^2 = 12.81$, $p < .01$
Whites: n.s.

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: $x^2 = 12.63$, $p < .01$
Eskimo Males-White Males: n.s.

*The question read:

Elena, Mildred, and Lisa were talking together one day about the kind of job they wished to have when they finished their schooling.

"I'd really like to be a doctor or a teacher or something like that," said Elena. "You know, some kind of a *job that people really respect you for*. That would make my family very proud of me."

"I don't think it really matters what kind of job you do," Mildred replied. "Just so you *get enough money to take care of your family*. That's what people respect you for, not whether you have this job or that job.

"I don't agree," argued Lisa. "I think people respect you most because of *what you do to help the village*. What's important is whether you share stuff and help people out."

Who would you agree with most, Elena, Mildred, or Lisa?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Summary

Results from these two scenario items seemed to show that, while the community-service value is important for rural Eskimo females, it may not have the same importance for rural males. There is little

Table 21

Prefer Lower-Paying, Community-Service-Oriented Job OR Higher-Paying Job without Community-Service Occupation*

Occupational Situation	Rural Eskimo			Urban Whites		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Lower-Paying Job with Community Service	48%	49%	48%	20%	50%	37%
Higher-Paying Job without Community Service	52	51	52	80	50	63
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of Students	(111)	(91)	(202)	(51)	(66)	(117)

Ethnic Differences: $x^2 = 4.16, p < .05$

Sex Differences: Eskimo: n.s.
Whites: $x^2 = 0.16, p < .001$

Ethnic Group by Sex Differences:
Eskimo Females-White Females: n.s.
Eskimo Males-White Males: $x^2 = 11.64, p < .001$

*The question read:

David's job pays him very well, and he is able to buy a lot of things he wants for himself and his family. David cannot see how his job helps people in the village from day to day, but he does help them by sharing things that he is able to buy with the money he earns.

Henry doesn't earn as much money as David does. His family doesn't have as much as David's family, although they have enough. But Henry's job helps people in the village. He can see that from day to day their lives are a littler easier because of the job he does.

Which type of job would you prefer, a job like David's or a job like Henry's?

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

reason to believe that the community-service orientation of rural Eskimos is stronger than it is for urban white females.

Clearly, urban white males value the extrinsic reward of good wages above community-service. Yet, even on this dichotomy, our findings are somewhat mixed. Equal proportions of Eskimo and white males agreed that an income sufficient to take good care of a family was the major element in good social standing.

Work Values: Reasons for Occupational Choice

In addition to the scenario items just presented, we also asked students their primary reason for choosing particular jobs.

Our rural Eskimo respondents, showed significant differences between men and women. The "opportunity to be helpful to others" was the reason most often cited by females, while males chose "provides free time" most often. This result for males is interesting in light of our overall finding that these rural Eskimo students want full-time, year-round work. For females, the second and third most frequently cited reasons were "chance to travel" and "chance to use my talents." Men selected "chance to use my talents" and "opportunity to be helpful to

others" most often after "free time." Overall, the most frequently mentioned reasons for choosing an occupation were, in order of importance: (1) "opportunity to be helpful to others," (2) "chance to use my talents," (3) "provides free time," and (4) "chance to travel." The least frequently cited reasons were "let's me be my own boss," and "interesting to do."

Urban white students of both sexes agreed on the three primary reasons for choosing the jobs they wanted: (1) "interesting to do," (2) "pays good wages" and (3) "chance to use my talents." The order of importance was, however, slightly different for each sex: men most frequently chose "pays good wages" followed by "interesting to do" while women most often cited "interesting to do" followed by "chance to use my talents."

These findings tend to confirm what we found above in our analysis of the scenario items. For urban white students, the intrinsic dimension of the job ("interesting to do") is more important than it is for rural Eskimo students. Rural Eskimo students tended to emphasize the extrinsic value of "community service." Eskimo males differed from all other subsamples in their primary emphasis on "free time"—another extrinsic value. "Good wages" was an important determinant of job choice for urban whites but less important for rural Eskimo respondents. For both ethnic groups, "chance to use my talents" was one of the three most frequently cited reasons for choosing the jobs they wanted.

CONCLUSIONS

We offer here a brief review of our major findings in answer to the questions we raised in our introduction.

What are the Educational Plans and Aspirations of Rural Eskimo Students? Do they Differ from Those of Urban White Students?

Nearly all of our Eskimo respondents were interested in post-secondary education. A very high proportion aspired to attend a 4-year college. Many, however, preferred to spend a year or two after high school working or staying at home before continuing their education.

The only differences we found between the educational aspirations and plans of rural Eskimos and those of urban white students were in where and when they wished to attend college. White students preferred colleges outside of Alaska while Eskimo students wished to attend in-state institutions. White students also preferred to begin college immediately after high school. These differences are, obviously, of minor importance.

What Kinds of Jobs do Rural Eskimo Students Want? Do they Differ from the Jobs that Urban White Students Desire?

Rural Eskimo students most frequently mentioned technical or managerial occupations as jobs they would like to have. Similarly, when asked what are the most desirable jobs, they chose professional occupations. The "traditional" occupations of hunter, fisherman, trapper, and homemaker ranked much lower than "modern" professions. After professional, technical, or managerial occupations, women most frequently mentioned clerical, sales, and service jobs while men chose structural or "traditional" occupations.

When we compared the job choices of urban whites with those of rural Eskimos, we found that a significantly larger proportion of white students preferred professional, technical, or managerial occupations. There was little difference, however, between the two ethnic groups in which jobs they considered desirable: white, like Eskimo, students ranked professions as the most desirable kinds of jobs. Occupations for which we found significant differences were those that—like health aide and teacher—had special importance in the villages. Indeed, health aide and teacher rank near the top on all occupational measures for Eskimo students.

Our findings that rankings on a desirability scale are similar across cultures is consistent with the results of other studies (Treiman, 1977). That more Eskimo students did not mention professions when asked what job they wanted may indicate that their expectations of what jobs they will get differs from their set of desirable jobs. The literature, as we have seen, also suggests that occupational aspirations are affected by the ethnicity of the respondent (Edington et al., 1975; Kuvlesky and edington, 1976; Gottfredson, 1978). That Alaskan Natives tend to have somewhat lower aspirations than whites is consistent with the findings of these earlier studies.

Finally, we found that both rural Eskimo and urban white students show upward mobility when their occupational aspirations are compared to their parents' jobs. This finding is consistent with that of Kuvlesky and Edington (1976) for Mexican-American, Anglo, black, and Native American youth.

What Working Conditions do Rural Eskimo Students Prefer? Do they Differ from the Conditions Which Urban White Students Prefer?

Observations of jobs in the rural areas have led some educators to believe that Eskimo students prefer seasonal, part-time jobs. Findings of at least one study of North Slope Eskimo workers (Kleinfeld, Kruse, and Travis, 1981) confirm this preference among male workers. Our findings, however, show that Eskimo students in these Yukon villages prefer permanent, year-round, 40-hour-per-week jobs to the temporary, seasonal, part-time work associated with Eskimo workers. At the same time, however, Eskimo males most frequently indicated "leaves me a lot of free time" as the primary reason for choosing the job to which they aspired.

We found that rural Eskimo and urban white students differed significantly only on their preference for outdoor work. Because a high proportion of white females want outdoor jobs, a significantly higher proportion of white students than Eskimo students prefer outdoor to indoor work. When asked about their preferences for hours, place of work, and

duration of job, our samples did not differ significantly.

What Kinds of Rewards do Rural Eskimo Students Want from Jobs? Do They Differ from Those that Urban White Students Want?

Certain intrinsic values—autonomy, leadership responsibility, and challenge—are significantly less important for rural Eskimo students than they are for urban white students. Work activity preferences—another intrinsic value—also differ: both Eskimo and white males prefer to deal with things while Eskimo females would rather work with data and information, and white females prefer to deal with people.

For the extrinsic values of advancement and security, we found that a majority of both samples valued jobs that offered these rewards over jobs that offered more money. For a significantly larger proportion of urban whites, however, job advancement was more important than a higher salary.

Finally, our findings on the community-service value orientation of rural Eskimo students was somewhat mixed. Females from both ethnic groups showed distinct community-service orientation. When we asked students to choose between higher pay or community service, we found that Eskimo males were almost evenly split between the two while white males decidedly preferred higher wages more than community service. Yet Eskimo males thought "being helpful to other people" was a very important reason for choosing a job more often than any other reason.

That we found differences in the importance that rural Eskimo and urban white students placed on intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for our samples supports previous research which showed that work values were affected by the ethnicity and gender of the respondent (Alvi, 1981; Hofstede, 1980; Lafitte, 1974). Our results suggest that rural Eskimo students look for different rewards and benefits from a job than do their urban white counterparts. It is important to keep in mind that urban white and rural Eskimo students differ in their experience with various occupations. Rural Eskimo students might seek greater intrinsic satisfaction from work if they were more familiar with occupational areas which offered such rewards.

In conclusion, we see that Eskimo adolescents resemble their white counterparts more often than not in their educational and occupational aspirations and work values. Differences do appear in some areas—for example, the timing of post-secondary education. In addition, a more fundamental difference may exist in the way each cultural group views the area of wage work itself and the satisfactions that such work may offer. Our survey results raised this possibility, but our research was not designed to explore it. Further studies should examine possible cultural differences in attitudes toward the role of work as well as attitudes toward specific aspects of the job situation.

The findings of this study should alert teachers to the high educational and occupational aspirations of rural Eskimo youth. These attitudes may not be apparent from casual observations. However, teachers also need to be sensitive to subtle cultural differences in the ways in which young people approach work experience. Educational programs which provide direct experience in a range of different jobs and which also provide the opportunity for reflection and discussion may be particularly valuable for rural students.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF VILLAGE SITES

The four village high schools from which our sample of Eskimo students was drawn are described below. The data was originally collected as part of the evaluation process for the Scientist-in-Residence project funded by the National Institute of Education.

St. Mary's is a Catholic boarding school located in the village of St. Mary's (population 436) on the Andreafsky River. Like most villagers in this region, the people of St. Mary's depend largely on fish for cash income. St. Mary's high school provides education in grades 9 through 12 for students both from the village and from throughout the region. Enrollment at the end of the 1979-80 school year was 117.

Mountain Village is one of the largest villages in the region, with a population of 600. A relatively prosperous place, Mountain Village benefits from fishing, a fish canning plant, and its location as the school district's central office. The high school, for the 1979-80 school year, had an enrollment of 64 in grades 9 through 12.

The village of *Emmonak*, like Mountain Village, is rather large, with a population of about 545. Fishing is the keystone of its economy. The high school, consisting of grades 9 through 12, had 49 students enrolled for the 1979-80 school year. Seventeen miles south of Emmonak is the second control site in the village of *Alakanuk* (population 575). The high school is about the same size as that in Emmonak with 47 students in grades 9 through 12.

None of the schools have more than a few non-Native students. The administrative personnel and faculty are, on the other hand, white with very few exceptions. Many of the teachers and administrators are new to village Alaska, and a number have little or no prior teaching experience.

Three of the sites—Mt. Village, Emmonak, and Alakanuk—fall within the same school district. St. Mary's is an an independent Catholic school under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Fairbanks. All are isolated from urbanized Alaska and can only be reached by air or, in the summer and fall, by water. Telephone service is adequate though unreliable in all the villages. All receive television transmissions via the Alascom satellite network.

The Scientist-in-Residence project team chose these schools because of their similarities. All serve Yupik Eskimo students and all are located in villages of roughly the same size with similar economies and social structures. Another consideration in selection was accessibility. Some villages—such as those on the coast—are weathered in much of the winter and spring, making travel impossible.

St. Mary's High School alone departs from the mold of the typical village high school. Project members chose it primarily because of its relative independence from the political and administrative problems that frequently beset public schools. Thus, it would be possible to examine the effects of the new program approach with less interference from unrelated sources. Moreover, a good deal of data already existed on St. Mary's students and its academic program from six years of intensive research conducted by one of the project's members, Professor Kleinfeld. Given this backlog of information, the project team believed that they would be better able to assess the effects of the scientists' visits on the school.

Finally, the willingness of school officials and the local people to allow outside researchers and educators into their schools was a necessary criterion for selection. The Lower Yukon School District, from the first, supported the project's objectives and activities as did the faculty and administration at St. Mary's High School. This is a particularly important criterion in rural Alaska where some districts are hostile to outside researchers.

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Table B-1

Residence of Southwest Eskimo High School Students

Residence	Percent
Alakanuk	17%
Emmonak	17
Mountain Village	21
St. Mary's	45
Total	100%
Number of Students	(237)

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Table B-2

Place of Birth of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students

	Cultural Setting	
Place of Birth	Fairbanks	Southwest Eskimo
Fairbanks	33%	0%
Anchorage-Juneau	2	0
Alaska Town, Village	4	100
Other State	57	0
Foreign Nation	4	0
Total	100%	100%
Number of Students	(157)	(237)

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Table B-3

Sex of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students

	Cultural Setting	
Sex	Fairbanks	Southwest Eskimo
Male	47%	54%
Female	53	46
Total	100%	100%
Number of Students	(159)	(237)

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

Table B-4

Grade Level of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students

	Cultural Setting	
Grade	Fairbanks	Southwest Eskimo
Ninth	31%	25%
Tenth	33	29
Eleventh	25	25
Twelfth	11	21
Total	100%	100%
Number of Students	(159)	(237)

Source: ISER Survey of Occupational Values of Fairbanks and Southwest Eskimo High School Students, 1980.

APPENDIX C

SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES

Table C-1

Specific Occupational Aspirations by Ethnicity and Gender

Occupation	Rural Eskimo		Urban Whites	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Managerial and Technical				
Engineer	1	0	4	1
Medicine & Health	2	8	1	5
Education	2	4	2	6
Airline Pilot	6	0	1	0
Bus. Mgr./Accountant	4	4	2	5
Arts	1	1	2	5
Law	3	1	4	1
Science	2	3	4	3
Self-Employed	4	0	1	2
Unspecified	0	3	2	6
Total	25	24	23	34
Clerical and Sales				
Secretaries, Clerk-Typists, Gen. Off.	1	7	0	7
Bookkeepers	1	0	0	0
Sales	2	4	0	0
Bank Tellers	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	2	13	1	1
Total	6	24	1	8
Service Occupation				
Cook	0	0	0	1
Stewardess or Airline Agent	0	1	0	4
Fire Fighter	1	0	0	0
Police or State Trooper	1	0	1	0
Custodial	0	0	0	0
Post Office	0	1	0	0
Teacher's Aide	0	2	0	0
Child Care	0	1	0	1
Health Aide	1	2	0	0
Unspecified	0	3	0	3
Total	3	10	1	9
Agricultural, Fisheries, Forestry, & Related				
Subsistence Hunting, Trapping, Fishing	6	0	0	0
Fishing	7	0	0	0
Farming & Other Agricultural	1	0	1	0
Other Agricultural	1	0	0	0
Total	15	0	1	0
Processing Operation				
Food Processing	1	1	0	0
Water & Sewer	0	1	0	0
Other Processing	1	0	0	0
Total	2	2	0	0
Mechanics and Machinery Repair				
Aircraft Mechanic	0	0	1	0
Small Engine Repair	1	0	0	0
Mechanics-Unspecified	8	0	3	0
Total	9	0	4	0
Bench Work Occupations				
Electronic Technician	0	1	1	0
Other Bench Work	1	0	1	1
Total	1	1	2	1
Structural Work Occupations				
Construction	4	0	0	0
Plumber	0	1	0	0
Electrician	2	0	0	0
Carpenter	9	0	0	0
Welder	0	0	2	1
Driver-Trucks	0	0	2	0
Structural-Unspecified	1	0	0	0
Total	16	1	4	1
Public Administration, & Native Organizations				
Local Government	2	1	0	0
Native Corps.	0	0	0	0
State Government	0	1	0	0
Federal Govt. (civil.)	0	0	0	0
Federal Govt. (military)	1	0	2	0
Govt.-Unspecified	1	0	0	1
Total	4	2	2	1
Other	4	2	4	2
Don't Know	21	21	7	9
Grand Total	106	87	49	65

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